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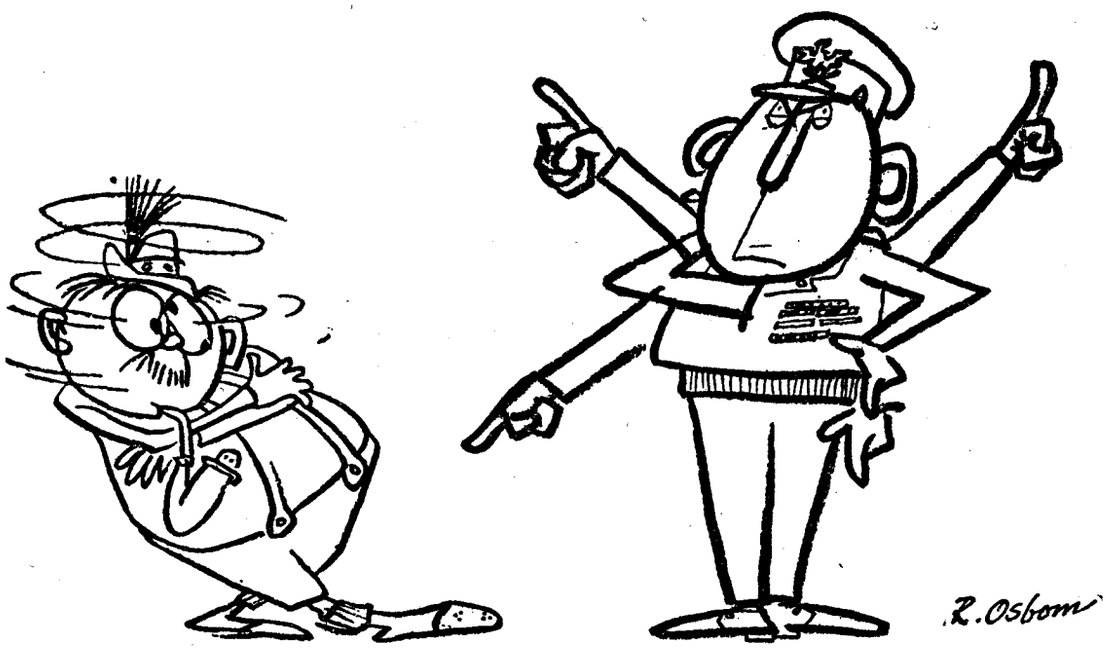

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By KEITH HUTCHISON

Associate Editor, The Nation

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 9 NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1946 NUMBER 1631

A World Made for War

THE ATOMIC-ARMS RACE is under way. Each day that it continues uncontrolled it gathers speed, bringing us closer to war. The United Nations which fought together to destroy fascism have never been united in more than name. Today, separate and independent, they are living in a world of fear, which is and must always be a world of war. There is no one in the world who would not gladly give his life to postpone war by one hour. But there is a grave danger that by the immense inertia of fear and competitive rearmament, peace will lose its hold upon life.

This is the meaning of the present spy scare in Canada.

The Soviet government has bitterly attacked Mackenzie King for the arrests made by his administration. It asserts that no important information is involved, that the information was offered voluntarily by Canadian citizens, was already known and published, that the matter was largely closed last September with the withdrawal of the Soviet military attaché and that King has raised the issue now as a political maneuver. "The unbridled anti-Soviet campaign," said the official Soviet statement, "was part of the plan of the Canadian government and is aimed at inflicting political harm on the Soviet Union." *Pravda* added: "Someone had to help Mr. Bevin to distract attention from his failures at the session of the Assembly. It is clear now that Mr. King decided to aid Mr. Bevin." King used, *Pravda* went on, "the worst methods of master reactionaries."

We cannot accept this interpretation.

It is true that Mackenzie King first mentioned the leakages to John Bracken, M. J. Coldwell and President Truman last September. The Royal Commission convened in Ottawa has stated, however, that the serious nature of the charges is only beginning to become plain in the preliminary questioning of the 13 men and women held by the government. By inference, Secretary Byrnes and Prime Minister Attlee have confirmed this view. No one who lacks information has the right to judge the outcome of the investigation. But it is fantastic to charge that the timing of the investigation is related to the London conference.

It is fantastic, also, to assert that the charges are insignificant because, in the society in which we live, dominated by secrecy, every nation has a moral right to seek the secrets of every other. We could as well argue that in a society that breeds crime, every man has the right to commit a crime. To argue this would be far less dangerous, for the crimes of individuals are committed against individuals and do not often lead to wars.

In a world as close to the end of its tether as ours is, it is necesssary to judge by a single standard of morality all actions that affect our lives. In 1936, when the Soviet government arrested the British engineers employed by Vickers in the USSR, we lived for weeks surrounded by cries of "Shoot the reptiles!" in some sections of our progressive press. We condemned the action of the Vickers engineers, and wherever it is found that Americans are seeking secret information,

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Congressional Honor Roll

The *New Republic's* citation for especially meritorious service in the public welfare in Congress last week goes to:

Sen. Charles W. Tobey (R, N. H.): For fighting, alone but to the finish, against invasion of our government by Big Oil in the Pauley case.

Rep. Jerry Voorhis (D, Calif.): For the success of his ten-year campaign for a permanent school-lunch program.

Rep. Adam C. Powell (D, N. Y.): For his insistence on applying the principle of no racial discrimination in all important federal actions; this week it was in the school-lunch fight.

Rep. Wright Patman (D, Tex.): For his tenacious efforts to provide decent housing at reasonable prices for our war veterans and their families.

we shall condemn their actions—as we condemn now, if they are true, the rumored plans of the OSS for the permanent large-scale espionage service that so far America has not authorized. The Soviet actions play into the hands of our Army officers and reactionary congressmen, whose entire answer to the atomic-bomb question is unlimited bomb production in this country and unlimited espionage in other countries. That is why this issue is so grave.

In a world in which nations can destroy one another at will, life no longer offers justification for the possession by any nation of weapons of mass destruction, of secrets concerning weapons of mass destruction or of a state of mind which asserts that espionage is not only necessary but routine. If the Soviet government had made this unanswerable assertion it would have offered leadership to the world. If it had proposed, as James Warburg has already suggested, a world agreement among the United Nations prohibiting all espionage activities, it would have made a great contribution toward permanent peace. By its political counter-attack, the Soviet government has made certain the tightening of the counter-espionage laws of this and other nations and the intensification of our own espionage activities.

The damage already done is incalculable. The Canadian press, whose Catholic readership is strong, is bitter about the accusations and doubly bitter about the Soviet replies. The reactionary press in this country is, of course, screaming for Soviet blood. The Soviet statement, with its interpretation of the Canadian action based on unreasonable fear of persecution, has been printed as a foreword to the Russian edition of the Smyth report—already a best seller in Russia. It will cause further distrust of the West among Soviet scientists, whose internationalism is one of the best hopes of the world. As further information becomes available, further charges and counter-charges will be provoked and the good relations between the Soviet government and the Western Allies, so vital to the world's future, will be imperiled.

We call for a halt in political attacks between governments and upon the Soviet government in our press. We call for an honest appraisal of this crisis and a positive approach to the action that is necessary now.

There is nothing unusual or criminal about our secrecy concerning the atomic bomb. Our development of this bomb was a British-Canadian-American development, not a United Nations development, because we fought a British-Canadian-American war, not a United Nations war. The Soviet government fought a Soviet war. Neither side tried hard enough to fight one war and therefore to live in One World. We have never favored giving the "secret" of the atomic bomb to the USSR or any other government. We do not favor it now, because it is not the fundamental issue. No fireman saves a flaming house by spreading the fire. The point is that no government possesses the right to the bomb or to the secrets necessary for its production.

So long as this country continues to produce atomic bombs, other countries must undertake not only to discover how these bombs are made but to make them. It is not a question of morality. It is a question of survival.

There is no use now in saying that the USSR is no worse than we are. We are all so bad that life itself is in danger.

At London, the United Nations voted unanimously to establish an Atomic-Energy Commission empowered to recommend measures for the control of atomic energy and for the elimination from national armaments of weapons of mass destruction.

No commission was appointed. No staff was created. Nothing has been done.

In three weeks the Security Council will meet. We ask that under Article 39 of the Charter, dealing with a clear and present danger to the peace of the world, the Council recommend that all further production of atomic bombs immediately cease, that the Atomic-Energy Commission be established and instructed to report its recommendations on the first day of the United Nations Assembly on September 3, and that until workable controls over atomic energy are established, nations voluntarily open their universities, their power plants, their chemical factories and their uranium and plutonium mines and pilot plants for voluntary inspection to prove their good faith.

Beyond this, we need urgently an agreement outlawing espionage, by means of world coöperation and not by the counter-espionage of national goverments. We need honest commitments by nations about their future intentions and their willingness to create a world that is not ruled by fear.

These are no careless thoughts. It is terribly late.

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The Grandeur That Was Rome

Eleven Princes of the Roman Catholic Church have been crowned in the magnificent palace of the Holy See. The poor mortals who watched in awe were stunned by the majesty and splendor of the scene. Behind the massed Swiss Guards, attendants brought on priceless silver trays birettas and mozzettas, scarlet and black, bordered with ermine. In gilded chairs the new Cardinals sat surrounded by gendarmes in blue uniforms and red plumed hats.

Strange sights to a world in which 60 million people face starvation. Strangest of all to those turning over the almost forgotten pages of the New Testament.

It may be that the hungry and yearning masses will, in this splendor and magnificence, find some spiritual consolation. It is more likely that they will find confirmation of the temporal, political power of the Church. In Bavaria, in Italy, in France, in Belgium, throughout Europe, the political parties of the Catholic Church are making new and vigorous bids for political power.

In this struggle for political power the Church sees as its great adversary the Soviet government.

From Lithuania through Poland and Ruthenia to Bessarabia, millions of Catholics are now living under Soviet rule. In these countries the Orthodox Church is active now in opposing Catholicism, with Soviet support. From the Consistory in Rome Cardinal Agagianian, the Armenian Patriarch, will return to the Middle East where Soviet pressure is greatest. Cardinal Mindszenty will return to Hungary, a leader in resistance to Soviet influence. Cardinal Sapieha and Cardinal Hlond will return to embattled Poland. These leaders, in the Pontiff's words, "are on the front line of the Church's life." In an attack clearly aimed at the USSR, Pope Pius condemned "modern imperialism" and policies of "unbridled expansion." In the New York *Times* Herbert Matthews describes this Consistory as the great turning point, and concludes: "It is war, and open war, and this Consistory is a formal mobilization of the struggle."

If this is true with Europe prostrated by hunger, America may be expected to lead in the fight. Cardinal Stritch from Rome has stressed America's role as "a great world power" with a grave responsibility. He continued by scorning "the bogus democracy of our time." The build-up of Cardinal Spellman and the rumor that he may become Papal Secretary of State has led *Avanti*, *Unita* and other Italian papers to criticize this country as "the rallying point of all the reactionary elements in the world."

All this is troubling news. The Catholic Church has a great, responsible role in the world. It must be a peaceful role. Americans will continue to defend freedom of religion the world over. They will not allow this country to lead a new march on Moscow under the banner of religion.

Truman after Ickes

One week after Harold Ickes' dramatic resignation from the Truman cabinet, the President still apparently had not learned the lesson that went with "Honest Harold's" departure. Under press questioning, he stubbornly reiterated his confidence in, and endorsement of, Edwin Pauley for Undersecretary of the Navy. This in spite of cautious "votes of no confi-

FROM THE RECORD — FOR THE RECORD

Sen. Ellender (D, La.): . . . The colored people of the South are the wards of the white people of the South. We understand them. We never attempt to give them a right by law which we do not expect them to exercise. We do not coddle them. We do not appease them, as is being done in the North. . . . The quicker the politicians of the nation realize that this country will not survive unless we have white supremacy, the better off we will be.

Sen. Russell (D, Ga.): Of course, we will starve to death before we will strike down the bars and let whites and blacks go to school together.

Sen Overton (D, La.): As a Democrat . . . I wish to say that it would be infinitely better for the Negro to adhere to the Republican Party rather than to the Democratic Party. . . . We do not want the Negroes in the Party. They do not belong in the Democratic Party.

Sen. Maybank (D, S. C.): If the bill [Fair Employment Practice Commission] became a law I would be willing to filibuster against the confirmation of anyone to be a member of such a commission . . . Colored citizens in the South have made great progress, and I am certain that the law-abiding Negroes of South Carolina would not wish to have any laws enacted which would in any way interfere with the segregation of their race under present conditions.

Sen O'Daniel (D, Texas): We in the South, especially in Texas, have no colored problem whatever. There are many Negroes living in our state; there are many white people living in our state; there are many Mexican citizens living in our state; and many citizens of Mexican origin live in our state. We all get along fine. There is no discrimination. We keep things separate. We have some segregation laws which are just as satisfactory to the colored people as to the white people. . . . Some people have the impression that the colored people are disqualified by law to vote in Texas. That is not a fact. Such an impression is absolutely unfounded and untrue. A colored person can pay a poll tax and thereby become qualified to vote in Texas, the same as any other citizen. We are very liberal with the colored people in Texas. – *From the* Congressional Record.

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dence" from Navy Secretary Forrestal and former Undersecretary of Interior Abe Fortas before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee in the preceding days.

Newspapermen noted a definite tightening up of the presidential manner at the regular press conferences, a new and welcome toughness. But his close associates are reported to be wincing at his daily phone calls to Pauley, Vardaman and (prior to his confirmation) Allen, expressing his chagrin at their harassment by Congress. The President is still wide open to the latest Washington wisecrack: "Truman is suffering from Pendergastric ulcers."

John L. Lewis on Unity

John L. Lewis calls for unity in the labor movement and for setting labor's house in order. It is hard to quarrel with these aims, and we do not doubt Mr. Lewis' sincerity. We are quite sure he means it.

It is entirely logical that Mr. Lewis should disavow all intention of conducting membership raids on the CIO, now that he is back in the AFL, preferring instead to lash out with practised vituperation at "the communists." He does not even say they are in the CIO.

This leaves Philip Murray with several choices. He can attempt to deny a charge that has not been made but could be made to stick. Or he can blow the CIO apart by attempting to remove the communists. He can concentrate on organizing the unorganized, including the large potential membership within the unbounded jurisdiction of Mr. Lewis' District 50, with the help of all elements in the CIO.

When Mr. Lewis left the CIO, he told Mr. Murray the communists were his worst enemies, that compromise with them was fatal. Mr. Murray demurred. Mr. Lewis is now out to hoist Murray onto that hook.

But if Lewis' logic appeals to those embittered by communist tactics, let them remember that at the moment peace is what we most need. The sinister implications of Mr. Lewis' position on the international front are all too clear. What is needed is a firm working agreement and a definition of boundaries—in short, "a pact or agreement to end hostilities." We bet that Mr. Murray will go on organizing.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Figure on the European Shore

A Telephone Strike?

The most exciting phenomenon on the labor front today, far removed from the inner political battles of the AFL and the CIO, is that sprawling young independent giant, the National Federation of Telephone Workers.

With a potential membership of 400,000, an estimated present membership of 250,000, a single employer and a structure of wage scales shockingly low, the potentials of the NFTW are terrific. Its economic power, if it realizes and mobilizes its strength, will dwarf that of any other union in the United States. It is not in fact a Federation at all; as far as we know, it does not even have a constitution, although by last reports it had a constitution committee. It is composed of 50 small, voluntary affiliates, each with complete local autonomy, most of them in turn composed of little unions which were once admittedly company-dominated.

The Federation's recent displays of strength, while seemingly ill considered, have certainly not been ill organized, and already its leadership is better advised. From a welter of little contracts all over the country has come a nationwide demand for a $2-a-day wage increase, which under the circumstances seems reasonable. The recent strike vote was democratically taken, and the union is now assuming a more responsible attitude toward the government than it did in the recent four-hour "sample" strike.

The Federation is coöperating with the Department of Labor, at least to some extent, and if the threat of a stoppage on March 7 is carried out, it will be an out-and-out wage strike.

Fair Employment Practice

The strategy conference held by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC in Washington a few days ago gave encouraging evidence that supporters of the bill realize that last month's Senate defeat was only a preliminary test of strength and that the battle must go on with increased vigor. As was revealed in the conference, the reasons for failure to achieve cloture in the Senate and the lack of 218 petition signatures in the House, were identical. In neither House

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has there been a strong, active majority for the bill. The conference faced this basic fact realistically and laid plans to mobilize additional public support to force Congress into action. The plan in this election year will be for voters to compel progress before the '46 campaign really gets under way. They should point out that the candidates are judged not only on pious declarations of intent, but on the basis of total performance.

Great progress has been made. In the House there are less than 50 signatures to go. In the Senate cloture failed by only eight votes and many Senators have indicated their desire to see the bill brought to the floor again this session. More and more organizations and individuals are joining with the National Council in the educational and political work that needs to be done. Congress cannot permanently beg the issue in the face of this mounting pressure.

The Bermuda Air Agreement

The Bermuda Air Agreement which has been concluded between Great Britain and the United States settles some questions which have been holding back international aviation. The British have agreed to permit American flag carriers to fly to Britain as frequently as our Civil Aeronautics Board allows. They also agree that American planes may pick up passengers in Britain for more distant European points, a limited recognition of the "Fifth Freedom." Air rates will be subject to regulation by both governments: both agreed on civil use of the United States military air bases in Bermuda and the Caribbean constructed on land leased during the war. The first two points mentioned above represent a tremendous victory for the United States. The way is now open for acceptance of the "Fifth Freedom" section of the Chicago agreement by the other 27 nations of the 50 involved which followed the British lead. American carriers can now operate at a profit over most of the world. Speedy development of complete international service should follow. A most heartening sign of the potentialities of the agreement is the fact that the principal opponents of it are Lord Swinton in Britain and Senators McCarran, Wheeler and Johnson (Colo.) in this country.

School Lunches

Some eight million school children were assured hot lunches at low cost—or at no cost to those unable to pay—by the House a few days ago. The program has been in operation on a year-to-year basis for a decade, but it was not without a fight that the permanent school-lunch bill was passed by a vote of 275-101.

Southern Democrats and old-line Republicans dusted off their speeches on states' rights and federal control of education, reminded their colleagues of the days their mothers fixed "good lunches in a little red pail," and then brought up the race issue as a last resort to defeat the $50-million appropriation (to be matched by state funds). They did succeed in crippling the bill by striking out $15 million needed to expand and equip the program in the states. Republicans were caught in their own maneuvering on the amendment introduced by Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D, N. Y.) to deny federal aid to states or schools in which discrimination is practised because of race, creed or color. Republicans who supported the amendment with the thought that it would cause Southern Democrats to vote against the bill and defeat it, were trapped into voting for it after the amendment passed.

Friends and Enemies

Paris, February 22—A French Constituent Assembly resolution strongly attacked the Franco government in Spain for the execution of Manuel Castro Rodrigues, Cristino Garcia and eight other former Spanish associates of the French resistance fighters. – *Wireless to the New York* Times.

Rome, February 24—Francis Cardinal Spellman was the only newly designated Cardinal from America to attend the state dinner held at General Franco's embassy to the Vatican. – *Associated Press dispatch in the New York* Times.

Gardner of North Carolina

President Truman has nominated former Governor O. Max Gardner of North Carolina for the position of Undersecretary of the Treasury. We feel that this is another example of Mr. Truman's numerous ill considered appointments to high federal office. Governor Gardner served North Carolina in better than average fashion during his years as chief executive of that state, but since that time, his activities and connections have not been of the kind to make him a proper candidate for the Treasury post.

Since 1933, he has been among the most prominent lawyer-lobbyists in Washington. He has been generally recognized as the Washington representative of his fellow North Carolinian John M. Hanes, Undersecretary of the Treasury in the early days of the New Deal, and Wall Street big shot. Many of the shipping, aviation and other corporations which Hanes serves as a director have employed Gardner for their Washington work. Surely careful Senate inquiry into Mr. Gardner's views is in order before he is confirmed for a position heavily influencing national fiscal policy.

Nice People

A New Yorker who moves in fairly high legal circles told us a rather hair-raising little story the

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other day. A friend of his was a promising young lawyer in a big Wall Street firm when the war came along. He joined the Navy, was on active duty for four years and then was demobilized. When he went around to his law firm to see about returning to work, they told him he could have his job, all right. "But," they said, "since you've been away so long and are probably rusty in the law, your percentage of the firm's profits will be just one-half what it was before the war." Our informant says this sort of thing is happening all the time. Nice people.

Thumbs Down on Franco

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION has at last decided that the world has put up long enough with General Franco's regime. The problem now centers on how to get rid of the Spanish dictator without the use of occupation troops.

As a starter, the State Department is editing the Nazi documents which show how the Franco government served the Axis as a matter of policy during World War II. The State Department plans to publish the documents in a White Book, which will announce to the world that the Franco government, against the wishes of the Spanish people, was in fact a satellite of the Axis. Such a finding makes Spain a fit area for intervention by the United Nations.

The publication of the White Book will end the equivocation which has characterized American policy toward Spain since the close of the war. The United States, to be sure, has shouted that it did not like Franco. But this distaste in the government has been counterbalanced by the feeling of other American officials that we need Spain, whoever governs her. American military men regard Spain as strategically important to the United States, and with that in mind, the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee a month ago arranged and approved the sale of five surplus transport planes to the Iberian Airline of Spain. The Franco government has friends in commercial circles who regard Spain as an important stop on the systems of worldwide air routes being developed by American lines. Our British ally has put up with the abuses which Franco visits on the Spanish people, because Spain is a source of British food, at a time when rations are short, and of iron, at a time when industrial raw materials are scarce.

But now the Administration will take direct action, thrusting aside shallow military considerations, the short-term needs of commerce and the apprehensions of Britain. The change in attitude has been brought about within the State Department by Dean Acheson, Undersecretary of State, who has strongly advocated the removal of the Franco blot on the postwar world. The incessant clamor of Americans for action and the documentary revelations of the share Spain had in the development of Argentina as an outpost of fascism in the New World also influenced the change in policy.

To accomplish its purpose, the White Book must convince the Spanish people that Franco is trying to save himself and his political gang at the expense of Spain. In recent months, the Caudillo has spread the subtle propaganda that the United States and the United Nations have been attacking the integrity of the whole Spanish nation. He has managed at least to confuse the populace if not to win it. Franco, according to reports, feels himself more firmly established than at any moment in the past, as ever greater portions of the world repudiate him from outside Spain. In July, fearful for his own future, he promised the Spaniards that he would bring about a restoration of the monarchy. But today, Don Juan, the pretender to the throne, is waiting in vain in Portugal to make his entrance. Franco, feeling secure, does not intend to admit him.

Such self-assurance is sure to wither as soon as the United States makes its case for action in the White Book. It can be the prelude to the severing of diplomatic relations by the United States and the imposition of sanctions. No longer will Franco be able to expect that each expression of dislike from the United States Government will be followed by a gift of airplanes. The time is getting ripe for the Spanish exiles and the dynamic enemies of Franco within Spain to make their peace with one another so that they, and not the monarchists, can provide the succession government.

Good News Down South

HOPEFUL CRACKS in the political fences of Southern reactionaries were made by the voters of Atlanta and New Orleans in recent elections. In both cases, record registrations preceded progressive victories. Showing their discontent with the current brand of Southern politics, the people of New Orleans chose deLesseps Morrison, a colonel in the armed forces before his recent discharge, as their new mayor. Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin was elected to the House of Representatives from Georgia's Fifth Congressional District.

In Georgia's first congressional election since the poll tax was abolished, Mrs. Mankin broke the tradition that the only women elected to Congress from Southern states are widows of congressmen. She supported organized labor, opposed the elimination of primary regulations from the new state constitution and ran on a platform emphasizing the equalization of freight rates and federal aid to education, thereby dramatizing two of the greatest needs of the South.

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Mrs. Mankin is a successful lawyer and has served five successive terms in the Georgia legislature. Her record in the legislature has been consistently progressive and was commended by Governor Arnall at the beginning of her campaign. Her strongest opponent in a field of seventeen men was Mr. Tom Camp, former secretary to Representative Ramspeck and executive secretary of the Georgia Railroad Association, who had the support of various special interests.

Several new factors in the Georgia political scene which helped to elect Mrs. Mankin were: (1) the elimination of the poll tax; (2) the fact that this was a by-election, not subject to the restrictions governing Democratic primaries; (3) Negro votes, which played an important role in the victory. In addition, she carried on an imaginative campaign which brought the vital issues home to the people. Thus with the support of women's and church groups, organized labor, progressive individuals and organizations, and helped by a heavy turnout at the polls, she demonstrated that liberal sentiments can find political expression in the South. This is the third election in Georgia in which the Negroes voted for the candidates who were being supported by the church groups and the forward-looking citizens of good will.

A six weeks' whirlwind campaign in New Orleans ended in the defeat of Robert S. Maestri, who has exercised one-man boss rule in the Crescent City for twelve years and represents the last strong remnant of Huey Long's regime. The new mayor of New Orleans is 34-year-old Colonel Morrison, whose victory can be compared to that of a liberal sweeping Frank Hague out of Jersey City. The vote was close—67,028 to 62,017.

Morrison was elected by the combined support of an aroused citizenry, a very active women's committee, organized labor, veterans and Negroes. Although he made no platform commitments for widening the economic opportunities or the franchise rights of Negroes, the Citizens' Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People estimates that most of the more than two thousand Negroes voting cast their ballots for Morrison on the basis of his generally progressive program.

His labor support came largely as the result of radio addresses in which he pledged himself to the industrialization of New Orleans, to the defense of the Wagner Act and to the appointment of a Labor Advisory Committee to help him plan for the future of the city. He made very progressive commitments about the place of women in a modern American city and announced that he would make appointments according to merit rather than sex.

If the anti-poll-tax bill now before the Senate is passed, the citizens of seven more Southern states will be given the chance to show the country that the Bilbos and Byrds are not the choice of the majority.

Famine in India

IN THE GREAT subcontinent of India, famine and death face millions of people unless immediate aid is forthcoming. Indian leaders accuse the United States of being too preoccupied with the needs of Europeans and impervious to the much greater need of the Asiatics. So far, appeals to the United States and the Combined Food Board in Washington have yielded only vague promises of aid. Actual commitments equal only one-quarter of the three million tons of food needed to stave off mass starvation. A new food delegation will soon arrive from India, and it is hoped that it will have greater effect in pleading India's case.

The Indian government's handling of the problem threatens to be another case of too little and too late. The Committee of Indian Merchants, in a telegram to the Viceroy, has accused the government of a "complacent attitude" and says that although the government was fully aware of the situation, it lulled the people into a false sense of security. The committee has also demanded an official inquiry as to why no action was taken to import the full quota of 1½ million tons of grain recommended by a special food committee in 1945. Total imports of all types of grains in 1945 were only 840,300 tons.

Indian-government measures to cope with the famine have included more rigid price controls and reduced rations. However, even the government admits that these measures can be enforced only in the cities. Since 70 percent of the Indians live in rural areas, price controls and rationing can be 30-percent effective at best.

Starving Indians cannot eat the sympathetic words of Americans. The United States Government, either on its own initiative or through the Combined Food Board, should heed the grave appeal of the Indian food delegation and heed it now.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Pied Pipers of Profit

by Chester Bowles

THE NEW economic stabilization program is a good program. It is a workable program. It will prevent inflation, which benefits no one and spells disaster to all of us. And I want to say as strongly as I know how that it is a fair program. It will not, however, eliminate every iniquity in our economic system. But it can and will do broad justice to all the economic groups of the country.

Clearly this program of economic stabilization—or any program of economic stabilization which might have a chance of success—will be attacked by every irresponsible pressure group in the land. Right now they are betting on inflation, licking their chops in anticipation of the quick profits inflation would bring them—while ruining millions of bondholders, investors, pensioners, businessmen, farmers and workers.

In the past four years of price and rent controls Congress has courageously resisted the propaganda of these Pied Pipers of Profit. Congress has consistently turned down their periodic drives for needlessly higher prices, rents and profits. By taking this stand Congress has so far saved the people scores of billions of dollars and prevented a disastrous inflation. Over and over again on this vital issue Congress has proved that the people's case is in good hands.

Who are these pressure groups who want price and rent control emasculated if not eliminated altogether? One is the National Association of Manufacturers, which has been demanding the removal of price control at the very height of this inflationary crisis.

As part of its pro-inflation, anti-price-control program, the NAM has been running a series of expensive full-page advertisements in leading papers across the country. All of them stress the theme song of the pressure groups: the need for production to stave off inflation—and the necessity for removal of price control if that production is to be obtained. All of them feature off-the-cuff economics and a total disregard for history. Typical of the way they gloss over the more unpleasant aspects of their program is the statement in the February 19 advertisement:

> Remove price controls on manufactured goods and production will step up *fast*. Goods will then pour into the market, and, within a reasonable time, prices will adjust themselves naturally—as they always have. . . .

There are three things wrong with this smoothly written statement. First, it does not mention what would happen to prices *before* "goods pour into the market and . . . prices adjust themselves naturally." After the last war prices skyrocketed when even those rickety controls were lifted; the same would undoubtedly happen if price control were removed now—but the NAM would rather not have you know that. Second, after World War I, inflation prices did not "adjust themselves naturally"; they collapsed with disastrous results for businessmen, workers and farmers. Third, production during the last war, with little or no price control, increased only 24 percent; during this war, under price control, it increased 116 percent.

A second inflationary pressure group is the National Retail Dry Goods Association. The NRDGA recently prepared and displayed in the House and Senate Office Buildings a "Horror Exhibit" designed to show that the OPA had by its pricing policy driven low-priced goods out of production, while giving new manufacturers high prices on shoddy merchandise. The display did not give the names of manufacturers producing the goods shown, and the NRDGA has repeatedly refused to divulge them. The names of producers of six items in the display, however, were discovered. In one case the OPA had not fixed proper prices. In five cases the statements made by the NRDGA were gross misrepresentations.

A third is composed of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Home Builders and the Producers' Council. Not only has this group consistently attacked government controls over building, it has kept up a steady barrage of propaganda against the progressive, sensible Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. Today it claims that it is backing Wilson Wyatt's courageous plan of housing for veterans, but is opposed to the ceiling-price-on-homes feature in it—an integral part of the program!

When the OPA and the National Housing Agency predicted back in October that two million veterans would be homeless within a few months, the real-estate lobbyists scoffed and said that we were just "playing a new theme song" to justify our program for ceiling prices on homes. Today the public knows they were wrong; they are publicly supporting Wilson Wyatt's housing program, except for ceilings on the prices of old houses and building lots.

With loud blares, the Pied Pipers of Profit try to drown out the facts. But I don't think the American people will listen too closely to this discord. They know we have a crisis on the stabilization front, but they know many of the reasons for it, too. Foremost are the present inflationary pressures:

First, the unprecedented purchasing power we hold. Public spendable income in the last six months of 1945 was at the rate of $131.8 billion a year. This was

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only $8.1 billion below the wartime peak of $139.9 billion, in the first six months of 1945. It was $43.1 billion, or 47.5 percent, above that for 1941, the peak pre-Pearl Harbor year; $64.1 billion, or 95 percent, above that for 1939, the last real peacetime year. This vast buying power is added to by $145 billion of wartime savings, a sum more than twice the total spendable income of the public in our most prosperous prewar year, plus the low volume of unemployment and the large payrolls of reconverted industries.

Second, speculation, which after the last war became a dominant factor only after five or six months following the cessation of hostilities, this time put in an earlier appearance. The speculators started betting on inflation, and that showed in all our markets. So, we have had prices pushing up hard against OPA ceilings all across the board, and prices in the speculative markets which were not under control moving up to new high ground.

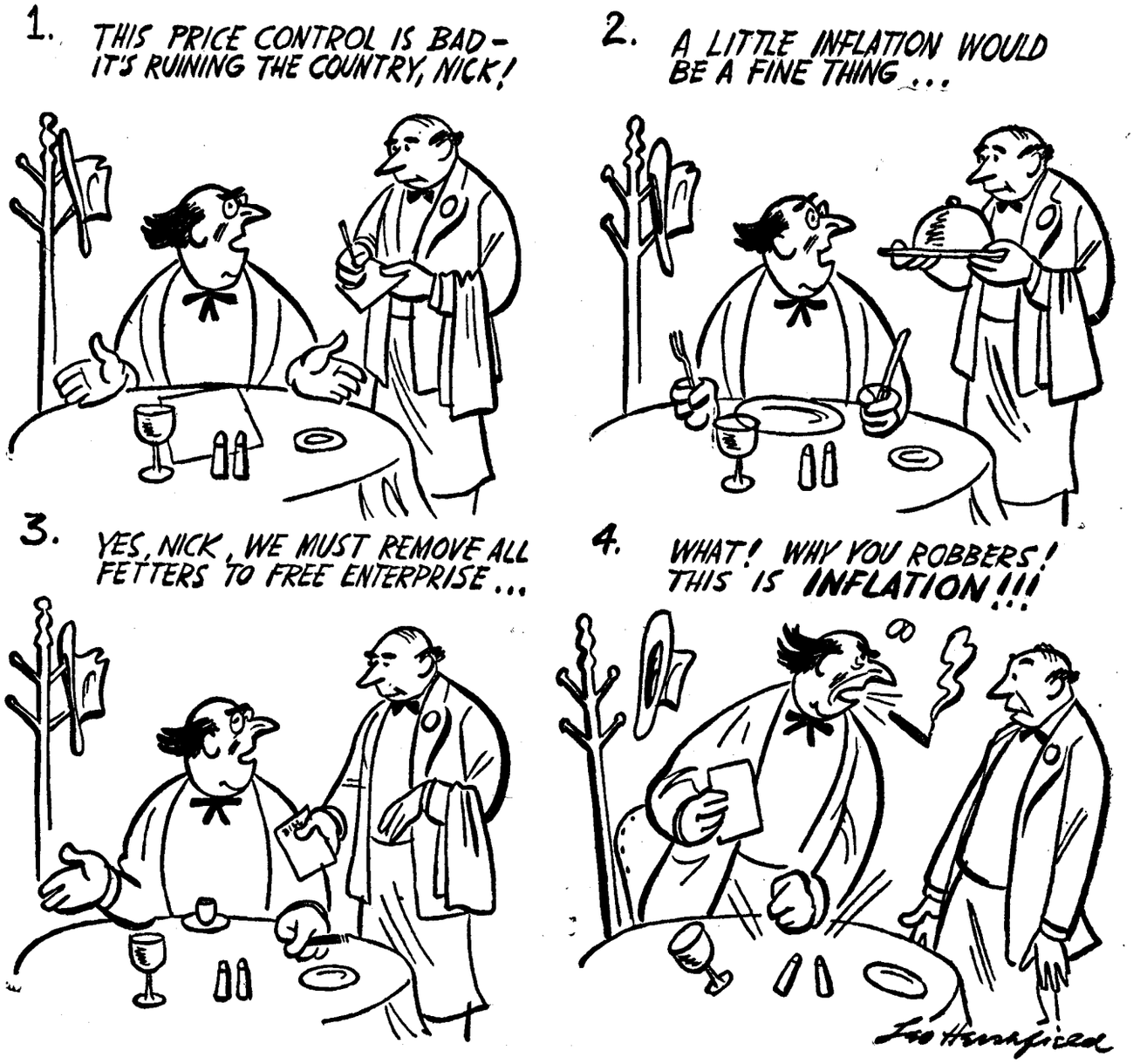
Third, the terrific shortage of goods. Reconversion is well along and production is rolling, but it will take many months to fill the present great demand for goods. No magic formula—despite the NAM advertisements—can cure four years of shortages overnight.

IF CONGRESS and the public back the new stabilization program, we can keep inflation under lock and key and maintain stability in our American economy. Details of the program have still to be worked out, but the basic policy is clear and understandable.

Wage control has been reëstablished. This does not mean a wage freeze. Wage increases within the industry patterns already laid down since V-J Day will be approved. Every effort will be made to speed up action and to establish streamlined procedures.

What does this mean to prices? Manufacturers will no longer be required to wait six months before the wage increases which they have granted will be taken into consideration in setting their prices. If for any

SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE by Hershfield


1. THIS PRICE CONTROL IS BAD— IT'S RUINING THE COUNTRY, NICK!
2. A LITTLE INFLATION WOULD BE A FINE THING...
3. YES, NICK, WE MUST REMOVE ALL FETTERS TO FREE ENTERPRISE...
4. WHAT! WHY YOU ROBBERS! THIS IS INFLATION!!!
Les Hershfield

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reason an industry, operating at normal volume, is in hardship, price adjustments will be granted. These price adjustments will be designed to assure the minimum level of peacetime earnings for that industry during the coming year.

Does this mean general price increases throughout the entire economy? Does it mean a retreat to a new price line—to a new higher level of prices? Emphatically it does not, and it is vitally important that we understand why.

First of all, let's remember that the number of industries which have been, or are likely to be, forced below their prewar earnings *for any reason* is relatively very small. The present pattern of wage increases can be, and in many cases has already been, established in scores of industries with no price consequences at all.

The result of this new wage-price policy will not necessitate a retreat from the present price line. It will mean a bulge in one relatively narrow section of that line—a bulge which must not be allowed to spread. It will have little or no effect on food, apparel, furniture, home furnishings and service prices and rents, all of which represent more than 80 percent of the cost-of-living line. It is in some of the metal-using industries, a relatively small section of the cost-of-living line, that some price increases will be needed.

THERE WILL, of course, be loud cries from many groups who think they will be hurt. For this reason, I would like to discuss this subject of fairness of income, group by group. First of all, the position of labor. The fact is that the elimination of overtime and downgrading have sharply cut the take-home pay of millions of American workers. The pattern of wage increases established over the past three months in most instances provides adjustments that go only part way toward making good the loss in take-home pay. These wage increases, and others which will be coming along in certain other fields, do not represent a new advantage for labor. They represent a cushioning of the blow that millions of individual workers have had since V-J Day. They do not give labor an unfair advantage as compared to other groups in the community. Under the new wage-price policy, wages generally will be stabilized according to the new patterns established since V-J Day. A further increase over the present pattern would make economic stabilization impossible. But the fact that many increases have occurred and others will occur in industries where pre-V-J Day contracts are still in effect is, in my opinion, healthy, proper and in the interests of every one of us.

How about business? Business is doing very well. American industry on the whole is extremely profitable. Only limited sections have been affected adversely by the shift from war to peace. It is significant that the boards of directors of American corporations declared a billion and a half in dividends in the final quarter of 1945—the period of economic readjustment. This was just as much as they declared in the final quarter of 1944. And total dividends last year were up to the 1944 level. So far as I know, none of my business friends has had his salary reduced since V-J Day.

Now it is true that in the reconversion area—and I mean by this not only those industries which have stopped producing war equipment and are now producing civilian items, but also industries, like steel, which have had to change the character of their production—operations are less profitable at the moment than in other parts of the economy. But let's keep our perspective. All these industries together make up less than 15 percent of the American economy. Their outlook for 1946 as a whole is extremely favorable. We have never in our entire history had a period in which there was less hardship in American business. In 1945 bankruptcies fell for the third successive year to an all-time low of 810. This compares to 22,900 bankruptcies in the boom year 1929.

Finally, how about our farmers—the group whose extraordinary record during the war is perhaps least appreciated, the group which for more than a generation has profited the least when times were good and suffered the hardest blows in times of adversity? In 1939 our farmers, representing 25 percent of all of our people, had only nine percent of our national income. Today net operating income *per farm* is more than three times as great as it was in 1939, and the increases have been pretty general. In December, the cash income of our farmers, after seasonal adjustments, was two percent higher than in August.

It is not too much to say that our farmers hold the key to economic stabilization largely in their hands. For unless food subsidies are maintained beyond July 1, the control of the present inflationary dangers will become impossible.

If food subsidies were withdrawn, food prices would rise promptly and dangerously. The index which has been held steady since May, 1943, would immediately rise more than eight percent. This would force a major increase in the cost of living. This in turn would force compensating wage adjustments on a broad scale. If the present line is broken, if inflationary forces get loose, there is no group in America which will more surely suffer disaster and heartbreak than our millions of farm families.

IT IS NOT UNFAIR or unreasonable to ask American business to live with its present generally high level of profits, with adjustments in prices limited only to those who really need them. It is not unreasonable or unfair to ask the farmer to accept the present general level of prices for his products. Finally, it is not unreasonable or unfair to ask labor to accept temporary government controls over wages and some cut in their take-home pay as a result of reduced overtime. Much

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as we might wish to prevent that cut, there is no way in which we can do so without precipitating an inflation in which the workers, like everyone else, have everything to lose and nothing to gain.

You and I and the rest of the American people all face a grave responsibility. I am confident that in the face of danger we shall turn a deaf ear to the Pied Pipers of Profit and carry through the new stabilization program.

I am confident that we shall now throw our economic machine—the most productive in the world—into high gear. That is the way, and the only way, in which we can quickly get back to a free market, free collective bargaining and a free and prosperous America.

Save the McMahon Bill!

by "R. S. K."

SPIES SEEK ATOMIC SECRET! The story gets 72-point type today in every newspaper across America. THE BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY IS ON! Hardly a newspaper carries the story.

Six months ago there was an urgent need for domestic legislation for the control of atomic energy. The wartime powers exercised by the Manhattan Engineer District could not be extended without hardship and confusion. The projects were in danger of breaking up. No international program for control of atomic energy could be undertaken without a basis in domestic legislation.

The first initiative was taken by the War Department. The counter-initiative by the atomic scientists, by liberals in Congress, by the 49 national organizations which joined to form the National Committee on Atomic Information, prevented the passage of the War Department's May-Johnson bill and led in part to the creation of the McMahon Committee.

This committee, stacked with old-guard Republicans and Southern Democrats, to offset the influence of its chairman, is considering S1717, the McMahon bill. There is great danger that it will not become law.

In place of the Manhattan Engineer District, the bill establishes a National Atomic Energy Commission of five civilians responsible for the development of programs for government control, for research, for the exchange of information and for the study of atomic energy. It makes certain that all of these programs must be "consistent" with international agreements made by the United States; it forbids the commission to conduct any research or development work contrary to any international agreement that we signed. It permits the commission to produce atomic weapons only upon the express authorization of the President. It gives to the commission custody of all atomic weapons "presently or hereafter produced."

Secretary Wallace has urged the rapid passage of the bill. He testified that "we would undoubtedly give the other nations of the world reason to distrust our motives if on the international front we advocate a policy designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for military purposes, while we simultaneously place the development of atomic energy in the hands of the military at home. So long as we continue without domestic legislation on this subject, we are doing just that."

This issue of civilian control lies at the heart of the bill. Raymond Swing testified that because control of atomic energy is "tantamount to control over the welfare of the nation, it is axiomatic that this power should not be vested in peacetime in a soldier." "The men who made the bomb are for the McMahon bill," said Dr. Harrison Davies, representing 1,500 members of the Federation of Atomic Scientists. "We wish to go on record most strongly as favoring complete exclusion of the military from any policy-making function on the commission."

At this moment, the pressure forces opposing the McMahon bill are more powerful than those who favor it. The National Association of Manufacturers has attacked the proposed powers of the commission as "contrary to the American system of free enterprise." Officials of the Vanadium Corporation of America are fighting against the proposed government monopoly over the mining and processing of uranium-bearing vanadium ores.

The heavy pressure of the armed services has been thrown against the bill. They have accepted the prin-

SCIENTISTS ON THE BILL

If the Civilian Atomic Energy Commission is not established in the near future and the free flow of ideas and information between scientists in this country is not restored, the development of atomic science in America will suffer a grievous interruption. Its benefits to mankind will be needlessly delayed and the international agreements necessary to eliminate the danger of atomic warfare will be seriously hampered. – *The Federation of American Scientists.*

"R. S. K." is being used as an office pseudonym.

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ciple of civilian control; they are backing amendments which will greatly weaken the effect of this control.

A tragic aspect of the arrest of Soviet agents by the Canadian government is that this action is greatly strengthening the hand of General Leslie R. Groves, director of the Manhattan Engineer Project, who is known throughout Washington for his contempt of other peoples and for his inability to understand the point of view of the scientists. He has testified in bitter opposition to the control of atomic energy by the United Nations, already accepted in principle by President Truman. General Groves has made the most of the Canadian exposures. In public he has announced that more secrets have leaked out in the past four weeks than during the entire history of the atomic-bomb project. In private he has added to many Senators that these leakages can be traced to testimony before the McMahon Committee and to the scientists. Ironically, the Soviet government has announced that for its information on the atomic bomb it is relying upon the Smyth report, which General Groves sponsored.

Testimony before the McMahon Committee is over. It is now in executive session considering amendments to the McMahon bill. Senator McMahon himself concedes that amendments are necessary. The bill makes no mention of the War and Navy Departments, and has been attacked by Secretary Patterson for this reason. In an amended form, it will probably provide for improved liaison with the services. Senator McMahon has also called the committee into executive session to consider the inadequacies of the Espionage Act of 1917. Some tightening of the espionage regulations in the bill must be foreseen for as long as we live in a world dominated by secrecy and fear. It is certain that the War Department will try to force many weakening amendments through, that industry will further attack the patent and licensing provisions, and that the House Military Affairs Committee, under Representative Andrew May, will further weaken the bill when it is reported out to them. The basic provisions of the bill for civilian control will be undermined by amendments covering the selection of the commission. One extreme measure, introduced by Senator Edwin C. Johnson, provides for a commission under the president of the Senate, and is fortunately so absurd that it cannot be taken seriously. In the absence of public pressure, however—and there has been no serious public pressure so far—some joker, more ably drafted than Senator Johnson's, will slip through.

Now is the time for all good men . . . "Freedom from fear?" said Dr. Harold Urey recently. Unless we act now, "we shall eat fear, sleep fear, live in fear and die in fear."

The AMG Mess in Germany

by Irving Wolfson

THE American Military Government in Germany has virtually admitted its failure. On January 7 came the report that Lieutenant General Lucius D. Clay, United States Deputy Commander in Germany, had announced his decision to call it quits on denazification. The job in which we had so conspicuously failed was now being abandoned to the Germans themselves. It was further reported that, at General Clay's request, the Ministers of Justice of three German states in the United States zone had proposed their own plan of denazification. Under it, practically every Nazi would emerge with a complete coat of whitewash. Even though General Clay's informal statement brought cheers from the old Hitler crowd in Germany and abroad, the General is neither blind to the true situation nor has he by any means turned fascist. He has simply underscored the obvious truth: that we have here neither the men, nor the will, nor the positive policy to help create a peace-loving and democratic Germany.

Apparent and complete as this collapse is, there is too much at stake—for the United States, for Germany, for the future of all the world—to make a permanent surrender thinkable. Military Government must be rejuvenated so that it can remain in Germany and do an effective job. And this, even now, is certainly not impossible.

Lack of planning was the first, and basic, error. The organization known as Military Government was set up to "aid the military" during the war. But no evidence exists that any serious plans were made to continue effective military government throughout the postwar period. Men recruited for this work were assured that their new duty would not prejudice their eligibility for discharge. They were, besides, haphazardly selected and carelessly prepared. Yet even these flaws can be rectified by *planning now;* and it is still possible to define a positive policy for military government at all levels; a policy able to take cognizance of its own aims and make efficient use of its resources.

Irving Wolfson is a New Yorker by birth and education, who was in Allied Military Government in Germany from its inception until a few weeks ago. He is now writing a book on the general problems the AMG has encountered.

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The ineptitude with which the present organization is handling the important aspects of public life not only reveals the scope and importance of the Military Government mission, but clearly gives the lie to any assertion that Military Government is ready to turn over its function to the German people.

THIS IS nowhere clearer than in the field of education. In the long run, the success or failure of our whole program will undoubtedly hinge on the ideas and attitudes which German youth brings away from the schools. Teachers must obviously be selected with the greatest care. And while it is true that the teacher shortage is real, this hardly justifies the licensing of Nazis, regardless of their "technical" qualifications. In Dachau, this practice was carefully avoided and licenses were refused to all teachers who had the faintest Nazi background—a procedure followed by few other detachments. Yet even there, two teachers, a Catholic nun and a man with no known background of Nazism, had to be discharged for harmful instruction.

Careful screening of teachers and sharp supervision of their professional activities are essential, but in themselves they constitute an obvious and negative approach. As yet, Military Government has no policy in practice covering the subject matter to be taught. And not even the most elementary steps have been taken to foster democracy through educating the young.

No educational program will successfully escape the atmosphere of Hitlerism, especially in Bavaria, until the influence of the Church has been curbed. Even more than dismissed Nazis, the clergy and parochial-school instruction poison the minds of German children against our troops and policies. Against clergymen, local Military Government detachments could take no direct action. Offenders among them were to be reported to higher headquarters, where, presumably, the matter would be taken up with their superiors, usually Cardinal Faulhaber himself. The clergy of the Catholic Church in Bavaria, from Cardinal Faulhaber down, were opposed—except in a few isolated instances—to Hitlerism only in so far as it discriminated against Catholics. And here is a typical example of how they behave under the occupation. After a months-long search, Hans Wulfert, notorious even in Dachau for his inhuman treatment of forced laborers, was apprehended. Cardinal Faulhaber sprang to the man's defense. In a letter addressed to the Military Government detachment which had made the arrest, the Cardinal requested his release on the ground that he had personally known Wulfert for a long time as a "kind and deeply religious person."

Anguished cries of this type continued to be heard from the Cardinal as well as a great many other members of the cloth, pleading that men who had been active, even fanatic, Nazis be retained in positions of public trust held under Hitler. Some typical cases brought to the attention of the Military Government officer at Dachau reveal that it was difficult to trust the judgment of clergymen in political affairs.

Dr. Robert Koschade: letters from Father Pfanzelt and others requested his release, permission for him to continue medical practice, stated he was "kind, deeply religious, attended church services regularly, was not a Nazi"; record shows Dr. Koschade to have been Chief Public Health Officer, Landkreis Dachau, Colonel in the SA, Party member since 1933, denounced by Anti-Fascist Committee—arrest mandatory on first two counts.

Albert Eixenberger: letters from Father Pfanzelt and others requested his reinstatement as Bank Director in Dachau, stated he was "kind, deeply religious, attended church services regularly, was not a Nazi"; record shows membership in the Nazi Party and the SA, denounced by Anti-Fascist Committee as an active and fanatic Nazi.

Johann Willer: letters from several clergymen requested his reinstatement as public-utilities official in Dachau, stated he was "kind, deeply religious, attended church services regularly, was not a Nazi"; record shows that Willer was an official in the Nazi Party.

Adolf Schmid: letters from clergymen and others requested his reinstatement as Landkreis police official, stated that he was "kind, deeply religious, attended church services regularly, was not a Nazi"; record shows membership in the Nazi Party and the SS.

Hermann Staudinger: letters from clergymen and others requested his reinstatement as Dachau public-school principal, stated he was "kind, deeply religious, attended church services regularly, was not a Nazi"; record shows membership in Nazi Party since 1933,

Drawing by Godal. Copyright by Field Publications, Inc., and reprinted by courtesy of PM

"Though we are anti-Nazi and good democrats, we vigorously protest your attempt to ridicule our beloved military leaders."

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receipt of various awards and medals for meritorious services to the Party.

It is these same clergymen, especially in Bavaria, who control education to a far greater extent than our Military Government.

TO COMBAT the continuing alignment of the educational system with the discredited political regime, these steps should be taken at once: First, limit the parochial-school curriculum to religious subjects and make parochial-school teachers subject to the same conditions and restrictions as other teachers. Second, ruthlessly weed out all teachers with Nazi backgrounds, including those non-Nazis who received their training under the Third Reich. Third, to help overcome the resulting teacher shortage, give provisional licenses to persons who may lack teaching experience but who are qualified by background to teach and are politically trustworthy. Fourth, establish teacher-training schools staffed only by those who meet both the political and experience qualifications. Fifth, revise thoroughly all textbooks and other teaching materials, not only to exclude objectionable matter but to include materials which project democratic ideals, beliefs and standards. At present no attention is given to a critical consideration of the 12 years of National Socialism; textbooks must be revised to correct the lies, myths and distortions of Nazi "education." Sixth, raise teachers' salaries and draw qualified persons into the profession. Finally, recruit qualified Americans and German exiles as teachers and supervisors.

Our criterion of "efficiency" is solving the job problem for Nazi teachers and it is at least an equal blessing for Himmler's policemen. No one can be ignorant of the important part played by the German police in protecting Hitler in his rise to power. Yet our Military Government is retaining policemen who are in the "discretionary-removal" category and is promoting them to key jobs at every level. Furthermore, an ever increasing percentage of police recruits are discharged members of the Wehrmacht who are not only filling vacancies but replacing anti-Nazis. An important parallel should be noted here. After World War I, Germany was able to lay the groundwork for her future powerful army by training the all-important cadre units within the limited forces permitted her by treaty and in quasi-military organizations. She can do virtually the same thing now under our very noses by using an expanded, quasi-military police force.

Does that seem improbable? Consider this typical instance: In October, 1945, at Dachau, I received 125 applications for jobs on the police force. Every applicant had recently been discharged from the German armed forces. About half of them had been in the army since 1937, nine-tenths of them since 1938. In most cases these men had gone directly from the Hitler Youth into the Wehrmacht. Although all 125 applications were rejected in Dachau, no such systematic rejection took place elsewhere. We are permitting such men to form the bulk of Germany's police force under superior officers who were at least nominal Nazis.

Military Government is now the administrative and policy representative of the United States in Germany. It is bound by orders which originate, or are approved, in Washington. The Germans, if they look to anyone, look to Military Government for clues as to how they should think or behave. (To most Germans, of course, the occupying troops are a part of "the military government.") The impressions they get will help to determine the kind of people they become and the kind of country Germany becomes. And here is what the Germans see as the living reality in the United States zone ten months after V-E Day:

Black-market operations are forbidden—but the black market thrives and receives its greatest impetus from American troops, both officers and enlisted men.

Denazification is the order of the day, but Nazis retain their jobs. Some are removed, but their places are taken by other Nazis. Occasionally an anti-Nazi gets a job of importance, but Nazis evidently still control the major municipal bureaus—the police department, the labor and employment office, the food office. Nazis still hold jobs in the railway, the telephone and postal systems. Nazi teachers, doctors, lawyers and dentists practise their professions. Nazi businessmen ply their trades. Nazis are driving cars again. Nazis and wives of SS men have nice, roomy homes with all the trappings; non-Nazis and anti-Nazis can't find living quarters, let alone furniture to put in them.

Nazis seem to be on very friendly terms with the Americans. Food is scarce and rationing strict, but get close to the right American and you'll be O. K. That's the way to get gasoline, too, if you need it. There's a law making punishable "illegal possession, control or disposition of property of the Allied forces or any member thereof," and Military Government courts have punished a few violators. But where did the food, the cigarettes, the GI blankets and clothing come from? The Germans know—the Americans.

Newspapers are being published again, the radio is back again, children are going to school again; but no attempt has been made to prove that Hitler and National Socialism were wrong.

AND THIS brings us back, as every problem here does, to our personnel. At the outset, except for a handful of low-ranking officers and a small number of enlisted men, Military Government was staffed by mediocrity. Thus, almost without exception, those men who were capable of doing a good job were greatly outnumbered and lacked real authority. Incompetent men in key administrative posts ar[illegible] with no corresponding sense of responsibility ha[illegible] criminal stupidity and maladministra[illegible]

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Miss Cornell's Antigone

Antigone, adapted by Lewis Galantiere from the play by Jean Anouilh. Cort Theatre, February 18, 1946.

THERE SEEMS TO BE a tendency toward apology, or at least an explanation, in the matter of adapting Sophocles' "Antigone" to present-day uses, but no apology is needed. Every Greek author who touched it wrote the original legend into what served his special purpose—that is obvious. It is also obvious, but a fact more profitable to consider, that men or stories are heroic or mythical to the extent to which they can take on lasting significance.

M. Anouilh, from whose play Mr. Galantiere has made the translation and adaptation which Miss Cornell, in association with Mr. Gilbert Miller, presents, has written a version that under the very nose of the Nazi censors manages to say no little about dictators, individual rights, respect for human instincts. That implies a good, strong accent on Creon, the tyrant. To judge by Mr. Galantiere's remarks in a program note, it was, as he considered the play, important that we should hear Creon's arguments. "But it was equally important that those arguments have no validity against a higher law which assumes an existence of an immortal soul and commands that priest or rabbi or pastor shall accompany a man to the electric chair as readily as to the field of battle. This has been done, not by taking anything away from M. Anouilh's Creon, but by adding something to his Antigone, his Chorus and his Haemon." I have seen newspaper babble, however, that went further than this and spoke of the play as dealing with the oppressed.

This is all very well and perfectly within our rights, so long as we do not get into historical nonsense. We make the story serve what purpose we want it to serve. For what purpose should it be resurrected save for that which Christ gave for His coming, that we may have life and have it more abundantly? But there is no need to fall back on the support of a lot of historical flubdubbery. In the first place, "tyrant" in the Greek scheme does not mean anything about bad government or arbitrary rule; it merely implies that the right to the throne was not hereditary. And Sophocles was not talking about oppression, not in that society he knew, which was made up of privileged persons and artisans and slaves; he was talking about something far more lasting and innate, as well as less featured on Broadway at the moment—I mean the profound and hidden ties of family devotion and its loving mystery, plus the recoil from a sense of outrage done to our deepest instincts—in this particular case the reverence for the beloved dead and their souls' peace.

Furthermore, the portrait of Creon that we get is not that of Sophocles' "Antigone." From internal evidence it is plain that this play of his does not follow in the course of an Oedipus trilogy. "Oedipus King" and "Oedipus at Colonnos" are products of Sophocles' more mature genius, by which the development of the deeper meaning of Oedipus' suffering and mystical redemption are discovered, and the motif of black craft in Creon's nature is developed. M. Anouilh's conception of the character is a composite of the several epochs of Sophocles plus the modern French conditioning and application. The exposure of Polynices' body after death does not come entirely from Creon's malignity; for all its inhumanity, it ensues partly from Polynices' having invited the seven great captains from Argos to support his royal rights against his brother, Eteocles, and, if need be, to sack the city and wreck it. In the older versions it was the City Council, not Creon, that decreed the shame for Polynices' corpse and was defied by Antigone, who was, we should note, here supported by the Chorus of her Maidens. It was Sophocles who imagined her solitary state and resolution, the single and passionate concentration of her heart, the timid fears of her sister, and the love theme of Haemon.

In the light of all that, then, we need talk no rubbish or justification, but may use the legend to our own ends.

The production scenically that is given to the play at the Cort consists of curtains and a semicircle of steps, all seen with a quiet not so much classic as elegant by Mr. Raymond Sovey—a soft beige, gray or what you will, according to the lighting—with costumes by Valentina that are perfectly aware of the prose-poetic requirements of the play as, not too boldly, it is given to us.

As to Mr. Galantiere's translation, the intention is evident: we are to be idiomatic and natural, just as the Nurse is to make some coffee that early morning for the young Theban princesses, one of whom has been out burying her brother and one awake all night in a torture of debate with herself and uneasy doubts. You wipe your nose on your sleeve and say, "Good-morning, Ismene," or at least you talk our current vernacular. It seemed to me that this effort toward the homely was most effective when the guards were speaking. They were frankly tough characters and their utterances were well written. Sophocles, if he could have endured the play, the production, the audience or any of us any way at all, would have here said go ahead. (Euripides, of course, would have been a better bet. He would have applauded this slapping down of the traditional stuffed shirts, and so would Socrates—hence, partially at least, the ultimate hemlock decreed for him and the penultimate marvel of his dying words, as the "Phaedo" has them.) But to create the vibration of the vernacular is only a cut below creating that of the great poetic style; John Synge could have told you how for five years he listened on the Isle of Arran before those deathless word-images were born to his phrasing. It is here that the lines Mr. Galantiere has written are not by any means first-class. The marvels of the English language—often declared unsingable by those who have studied with German gurglers or Parisian adenoiders—are not too often found in the speeches of this "Antigone." In the high poetic style there is the beating of the wings, as it were; and in the realistic style, the plain song of our English speech, there is the homely fire of the pulse. We get touches of both in this adaptation, but not enough of either.

The company of "Antigone" all should be credited with the right spirit, which is much. Some of them spoke very poor English, in voices badly placed and worse employed. Miss Bertha Belmore, with seasons behind her, gave a good performance of the nurse. Mr. George Matthews, as the First Guard, or whatever you call it, was capital in a good part; his cueing was notable and his variations, a kind of counterpoint, as it were, to Antigone's speeches, were something to study as stagecraft—a good actor. Sir Cedric Hardwicke's Creon had an admirable authority and distinctness.

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And so there is Miss Katharine Cornell, that beloved figure of our stage. Miss Cornell has lately returned from a tour of the army theatres, where she played "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" to the total of 142 times. I have heard reports of these occasions from members of the armed forces, so beautiful did they feel the experience she gave them. To many of them who had never seen a stage play before, it was a great adventure. As to Miss Cornell's Antigone, I can only say it was a wise choice for her, a performance sincerely undertaken, filled with that shimmer and shadow, that stage magnetism, which is essentially hers. If the whole company performance at the Cort is not filled with the height of tragic acting, I can only say that our audiences would not know the same if they encountered it. And I would add that, while various leading exponents of our box-office stage are getting richer by being cheaper, here is Miss Cornell, who might easily be making more money by being more Broadway, presenting an American version of a French version of something worth talking about, worth seeing, worthy of herself.

The play has been well directed by Mr. Guthrie McClintic.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

Should the party nominate a liberal like Harold Stassen, and thus virtually guarantee the election of the Republican ticket? Or, assuming that the Democratic Party is hopelessly shattered and that a Republican triumph is inevitable, should it hold stoutly to its conservative principles and nominate someone like Senator Taft? That is an issue which Republicans will and should begin debating. As problems go these days, it is rather a pleasant one. – *From an editorial in the Boston* Globe.

The Republican keynote was sounded by the comfortably suntanned Representative Harold E Knutson (R, Minn.), who warned: "You cannot have tax reduction if you keep tacking on useless things like this school-lunch stuff." – *From* PM.

Senator Seawell questioned the item for fire protection at the U. C. medical center, San Francisco, indicating that since the old buildings on Parnassus Avenue hadn't burned down yet, there appeared little reason for the money request. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

It Can Happen Here

. . . We are moved to indignation by the evidence submitted to us that Mr. Nicklas, an investigator for the committee [on un-American activities], in the presence of its chief counsel, Ernie Adamson, said to Professor Clyde Miller, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, "You should tell your Jewish friends that the Jews in Germany stuck their necks out too far and Hitler took good care of them and that the same thing will happen here unless they watch their step." – *From a resolution of the Greater New York Federation of Churches denouncing the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as quoted in the New York* Times.

Mighty Odd

But, in Russia, when Kerensky and the decent, liberal Russians had deposed the czar and were trying to create a truly liberal regime, taking all the risk, Lenin and Trotzky emerged from safe refuge to thwart him, destroyed the intelligent good Russians in ghastly massacres and famines and established a dictatorship which, today, practises slavery with millions of captives. Except in detail, the record there matches that of Adolf Hitler and you will search the record of all this in vain for a single Anglo-Saxon name. – *Westbrook Pegler in his syndicated column.*

Pleasure Cruise?

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Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The President Could Resign

SIR: He can't [resign]: thus, in T. R. B.'s column of February 1, you describe Mr. Truman's predicament. Since the Constitution expressly provides for a President's resignation, you must mean that it is contrary to natural law that a politician should resign the most glamorous office in the world. . . . But let your imagination run riot and suppose a President really ambitious—not just avid for office. In a situation such as many acute observers think will soon confront Mr. Truman, he would say:

"Fellow citizens: A prerequisite to efficient government is harmony between its branches. The disharmony which at present prevails between the Congress and the presidency is patent to all and carries a serious threat to our national well-being, even to our national existence. No other constitutional country suffers from this disability and I'm going to do something about it. Pending the constitutional changes which are so urgently indicated, I shall pursue a course which will, for a time at least, automatically produce harmony. If the Opposition wins the coming congressional election I shall resign. . . . I avoid the use of Republican and Democratic Parties, since these terms have ceased to have relevance to current issues. For my present purposes the only realistic distinction is that between opposer and supporter. . . . I shall shortly present to the country a list of members whom I consider to be in opposition to the fundamental policies of the Administration, with a summary of each man's record, and also a list of my supporters in Congress and in nomination. Thus the country will know where everybody stands and the voters will have a chance to choose between the Administration and its foes. If it chooses the latter, I shall bow to popular will and retire from the scene. But before doing so, I shall, as a good citizen, do all I can to facilitate the working of the Oppositionist regime. All my cabinet and the Vice President will of course resign, but before doing so myself, I shall appoint as Secretary of State (who will then be my legal successor) whomever the Opposition shall ask me to, and he will take over the moment I sign my resignation. If the Opposition wishes, it may name its choice in advance and I will agree to appoint him if the election shall go against me. Thus we shall have in effect a presidential election in mid-term and harmony between the two branches of government will be preëstablished." . . .

East Jordan, Mich.

FRANK FOOTE

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Congressmen on Congress

SIR: Thank you very much for the February 11 issue on "Elections: 1946, Your Chance to Change Congress Now." I think it a real service to bring to the attention of the public the important issues facing our nation.
Washington, D. C. CLAUDE PEPPER

SIR: Thank you for the advance copy of your new supplement, "Elections: 1946." I hope before this session ends that Congress will have a better record of progressive legislation.
Washington, D. C. GEORGE D. AIKEN

SIR: This will acknowledge and thank you for the copy of the "Elections: 1946" supplement, dated February 11, of the *New Republic*. You have much valuable information in this supplement, which, however, will not be fully appreciated by some of the members, nor by some of the people whom the truth hurts.
Washington, D. C. A. J. SABATH

SIR: Thanks for your copy of the *New Republic* carrying the 1946-election supplement.

Having lived through 1919, '20, '21 and '22, my open prayer is that our country may avoid the terrific slipbacks which we went through after the last war. It remains to be seen whether the people's memories are long enough to cause them to remember past experiences.
Washington, D. C. ELBERT D. THOMAS

SIR: I want to thank you for sending me a copy of your new supplement, "Elections: 1946, Your Chance to Change Congress Now." This edition of your magazine to me presents the most intelligent review of the happenings in Congress, and I have found it the most reliable source of ready information in my office. Thank you for your constant efforts in behalf of progressive legislation.
Washington, D. C. W. K. GRANGER

SIR: This will express my pleasure in receiving a copy of your new supplement, "Elections: 1946."

This supplement is truly a guide for Americans who want to elect a Congress liberal enough to carry out the wishes of a majority of the American citizens.

The *New Republic* is to be complimented on the all-out fight it has waged and is continuing to wage in making democracy and democratic ideals the major objective of every thinking American.
Washington, D. C. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

SIR: In my opinion, your congressional supplement supplies information that should be interesting to every patriot and that is, beyond question, indispensable to every progressive in the land. Had you been present in the House an hour ago when it passed the abominable anti-union-labor Case bill by a majority of more than a hundred, you would have had reason to believe more than ever before that at least one House of Congress should be changed now. To my regret, reactionaries on the Democratic side of the aisle vied with those on the Republican side in the achievement of this deplorable result. . . .
Washington, D. C. MATTHEW M. NEELY

SIR: I have received a copy of the February 11, 1946, issue of the *New Republic*. The chart shows the writer was absent when the House voted on HR 7, the anti-poll-tax bill. I just thought you might desire to check further, as my position on this measure is quite clear.

On pages 5382 and 5383 of the *Congressional Record* for May 29, 1945, there are contained the names of the 218 members who signed a discharge petition to bring HR 7 before the House. My signature is listed under Number 81. The writer is a member of the Special Committee of the House of Representatives to investigate food shortages. On Page 6027 of the *Record* for June 11, 1945, it will be noted that this committee was given official leave of absence. On June 11, 1945, the committee was conducting a hearing at Omaha and on June 12 the committee was at Minneapolis.

This explains the reason for my absence when the vote on HR 7 was taken.
Washington, D. C. MARTIN GORSKI

SIR: Although I feel that your classification of some of the legislative proposals has the modern-day trend of oversimplifying the problems involved and do not believe that some of these votes fairly represent a division between labor and conservative voters, I realize that such classifications are necessary in order to dramatize issues in which you so strongly believe.

I am 100 percent with you, however, in your effort to arouse the voters to the necessity of participating in the elections and I am satisfied that so far as my district is concerned, the larger the vote, the better it will be for me.
Washington, D. C. A. W. BENNET

SIR: I think it is very helpful to have a public record of the congressmen's vote, and particularly helpful to those of us making a liberal fight to have our constituents know where we stand.
Washington, D. C. JOSEPH CLARK BALDWIN

[The states and party affiliations of the congressmen who have written us are; Pepper, D, Fla.; Aiken, R, Vt.; Sabath, D, Ill.; Thomas, D, Utah; Granger, D, Utah; Bailey, D, W. Va.; Neely, D, W. Va.; Gorski, D, Ill.; Bennet, R, N. Y.; Baldwin, R, N. Y. — THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

George Boswell, a second lieutenant in the infantry who served three years as an enlisted man, writes from Fort Story, Virginia, that our editorial criticizing the Army caste system (the *New Republic*, January 21) was wrong. Officers and men, he claims, get the same rations, both in combat and in garrison. EM's are not, as we suggested, discouraged from taking any initiative, and he points to the distribution of ratings to men in the ranks. Lieutenant Boswell does not feel that the number of incompetents is sufficient to warrant generalizations about "incompetent and sadistic" officers. He also states that many of the gross abuses of privilege were on the part of "high-ranking officers in rear-echelon headquarters" who were not too involved in the business of fighting, but points out that enlisted men in large cities and safe stations "had their rackets and abuses." Lieutenant Boswell blames the redeployment confusion on the failure of Congress to legislate for the size and kind of army we shall need to implement our foreign policy.

Mrs. Frances Bruner of Seminole, Oklahoma, sends us a letter and some newspaper clippings telling of the basis for a pending suit to force the University of Oklahoma to enroll Negro students, since the Negro university, Langston, is so under-endowed that it is unable to provide the equal educational opportunities legally required of states which practise segregation in schools and colleges.

Frank J. Skoff, 1622 Harlem Boulevard, Rockford, Illinois, is writing a thesis about G. B. Shaw, "his quarrels with the poets, theories of poetry," and would be grateful to any of our readers who would let him use relevant material. He asks aid in locating Shaw's letter to Alexander Woollcott on Marchbanks in "Candida."

J. G. Hughes of Washington, D. C., corrects our statement (the *New Republic*, January 28) that the American nominating group submitted only two nominations for the new World Court. We submitted four.

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Books in Review

Mario and the Hypnoanalyst

I was deprived of everything that gave meaning to life . . . shut off from the people that were mine . . . deprived of my rights to think and to act. . . . Anyone who does not feel happy or satisfied under these circumstances, anyone who does not adjust himself, is considered perverse or abnormal. . . . The Freudians are an unscrupulous lot when it comes to their pet hypotheses, and the Freudians are in power. . . .

I have seldom met a doctor who believed in taking his own medicine; their system of make-believe is for others. . . . The sciences do not deal with the truth. They corrupt the individual . . . feed him untruths that he may be kept unaware of his own corruption. . . . Were one to abide by the requirements laid down by the Freudians one would not dare to think at all. . . . Especially one would not dare to . . . philosophize about things. That which formerly was known as rich inner life they would term daydreaming or fantasy, escape from reality, compensatory devices. . . . Religion, daydreaming, drunkenness . . . there is scarcely a thing that humans do that the Freudians would not classify as defense or escape mechanisms or compensatory devices —except psychology, of course.

THESE are not the conclusions of a critic of the moral values underlying psychoanalytic thinking, but rather the speculations of an anonymous state-hospital patient, "Johann R.," before undergoing the hypnoanalysis which was to "cure" him. With striking resemblance to Dostoevsky's *Man from Underground*, Johann, before treatment, was a timid, untidy creature, "absorbed in his own ideas . . . mumbling to himself about such vague matters as atoms, molecules, the iniquities of life and the *philosophic differences between goodness and badness*" (italics mine.—L. H. F.). Like many other philosophers he felt uneasy in the presence of normal people, and "whenever he addressed anyone he kept his mouth covered and gazed down at the floor." Dr. Wolberg[1] had already tried other methods to change Johann's appearance before he resorted to hypnosis. For example, he "personally escorted him to a local clothing store" and bought him a complete outfit, which Johann refused to wear, attempting "stealthily to distribute it among other patients." (At about this period he "became preoccupied"—not unnaturally—"with the notion that he was exuding odors offensive to those around him.")

Johann "resisted" the doctor's first attempts to hypnotize him, dreaming of a hand which came out of the wall, filling him with horror. But it was explained that this was the "helping hand" of the doctor, and that the patient's resistance was caused by his "fear of a close relationship." By the end of the week he was "able to sink into a light trance" which soon became a "deep somnambulistic state." But apparently this was not enough; Dr. Wolberg wanted the "intimacy of the hypnotic relationship" to be pleasant, too. "The theory behind this was that if the patient could experience intense pleasure in a close relationship, he might regard closeness as having some positive virtues." So Dr. Wolberg suggested to Johann, under hypnosis, that hypnosis was a very pleasurable state indeed:

"As you sit here . . . the most intense happiness comes over you. . . . You recapture all the joyous moments of your life. . . . When you wake up . . . this pleasurable emotion . . . will embrace every fiber of your being. . . . You will bubble with sheer joy. . . . Happiness will well up inside of you until it overflows, and the world will be a bountiful and joyous place."

Presumably the experiment was a complete success: Johann awoke "with a confused, joyous expression on his face."

Having made hypnotic intimacy desirable, Dr. Wolberg turned his attention to the problem of obedience itself; Johann's meekness and submission to authority were solved in an ingenious way. On the theory that one's internalized parents are the only real Authorities one ever has to worry about, Dr. Wolberg felt that his own role in the matter was merely to push the invisible therapeutic buttons which would let Authority out and Enlightenment in:

"When you awaken, you will feel very happy . . . and self-confident. You will go to the dining room . . . tell the waitress that you care neither for the food nor the service. . . ."

Twenty minutes later Johann returned from the dining room flushed with dismay, if not self-confidence. "He appeared to be manifestly upset by this open demonstration of aggression." And though he was "reassured that his complaints" to the waitress "were undoubtedly justified," he remained doubtful. The next day he had a complete amnesia for the experience; "it was apparent that his fear of aggression was still sufficiently great to bring repressive forces into play." Nevertheless, we can see that Johann has taken a big step toward recovery: always a timid man, he has now learned to obey orders to the point of insulting waitresses over imaginary provocations.

A most spectacular change came over Johann physically. He held his head high, and he seemed to be able to express himself much better; there was no faltering for words. . . . He stopped looking at the ground and . . . holding his fingers over his mouth when he talked. He even wore his new clothing, polished his shoes and tucked a breast handkerchief in his coat.

In other words, Johann was becoming a real individual who would soon be able to talk and dress like every other individual in this individualistic society. Two years after his release from the hospital, while paying a friendly visit to the doctor, "hypnotic associations disclosed a persisting image of himself as an intact and likable person."

This remarkable cure was effected by the elaborate application of Freudian theories to a series of hypnotic devices, all of unquestionable virtuosity—automatic writing and drawing, artificial dreams, "spontaneous dreams," crystal gazing, "regression" to various age-levels of childhood. As Abram Kardiner says in his introduction, "While no reliable theory about hypnosis exists today, it has made giant strides in the domain of technic." In fact, there are

[1] Hypnoanalysis, by Lewis R. Wolberg, M. D. New York: Grune and Stratton. 338 pages. $4.

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times when Johann himself seems to be rather carried away by the doctor's inventiveness:

> Under hypnosis . . . he would dream [about his relations with his family] but . . . would blot his dream completely from his mind; in addition the dream, though forgotten, would stimulate a compulsion to draw, and the drawing would symbolize more clearly the meaning of the dream.

Given the author's faith that all "attitudes" of patients come straight from childhood causes lying "dormant in the unconscious" and that hypnosis is a miraculous method for tapping or "mobilizing" them, it follows naturally that he can make such statements as this:

> [J.] was instructed to integrate his unconscious and conscious feelings. When he awakened, however, there was no indication that he had absorbed this command. His free associations, though carefully noted, involved matter-of-fact things and made no reference to any of his deeper problems.

Probably the doctor had forgotten to suggest which "conscious and unconscious feelings" he was supposed to integrate.

In the course of his integration of Johann, Dr. Wolberg discovered that his persistent intellectuality and preoccupation with philosophical questions had been caused by "early difficulties with masturbation." Dr. Kardiner, who contributes "A Dynamic Interpretation" of the case, agrees. "That this striving for knowledge is sexual in its roots is clearly brought out by the fact that [the patient] regards it as sinful." Another proof which Dr. Kardiner fails to mention is that the Samoans and Marquesans regard Science itself as sinful.

During the final phase of the four-month cure Dr. Wolberg dealt with the "odor of burning flesh" which had troubled Johann's first days at the hospital, when he feared he was to be electrocuted for his sins. To prove this was psychosis rather than fact, Dr. Wolberg induced various hallucinations under hypnosis, thus demonstrating to Johann how greatly his senses had deceived him in the past. The last session was spent "explaining to him, at both a regressed and an adult level, the significance of his strivings, the meaning of his illness and the progress he had achieved in understanding his unconscious motivations." We wonder which age-level Dr. Wolberg chose to receive this information. By this time, at any rate, Johann's early resentment against Freudians has disappeared, along with the vague ideas about good and evil. In addition to having a hypnotic image of himself as "intact" and "likable" he doubtless continues to wear a breast handkerchief and to speak sharply to waitresses.

Without underrating the ingenuity of Dr. Wolberg's techniques and theories, we can probably conclude that the chief credit for this change in Johann rests squarely with the doctor himself. Hypnosis, that mysterious "close relationship," has been defined by Robert W. White as the state of "behaving like a hypnotized person, as this is continuously defined by the hypnotist and understood by the subject."[1] And with this definition most of the mysteries disappear—except of course the central mystery of why people obey orders, write books, hypnotize each other and in general behave as they do.

LESLIE H. FARBER

[1] "A Preface to the Theory of Hypnotism," by Robert W. White. The *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (October, 1941).

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The Bishop Orders Our Tomb

Star of the Unborn, by Franz Werfel. New York: The Viking Press. 645 pages. $3.

THE VIKING PRESS believes that Werfel's last book is also by far his best. The blurb even hints at a kinship among Werfel, Cervantes and Dante. Someone else has called *Star of the Unborn* "Kafkaesque" (an epithet that will soon cover all kinds of fantasy in the same loose way that "Proustian," among reviewers, already covers all kinds of introspectiveness.) I'm afraid that the real affiliation of *Star of the Unborn* is with H. G. Wells, who more than anyone else established the planetary and Utopian romance as a modern "weapon in the war of ideas." The weapon turned out to be a boomerang. The Wellsian genre was used—by Bernard Shaw, Aldous Huxley, C. S. Lewis—for anti-Wellsian purposes. Werfel is the latest of the anti-Wellsian Wellsians. Where Shaw offers Creative Evolution, Huxley nihilism, and Lewis Anglicanism, Werfel offers the Catholic Church.

Star of the Unborn tells how one F. W. visits the world of about A. D. 101,945. At first the world seems to be something of a Utopia (though not exactly a Wellsian one, since everything is as far removed as possible from modern urbanism). Later we discover that the new world contains not only model dwellings (underground, of course, in the womb of Werfel's dear old mother, earth) but also a Jungle inhabited by bad men whom civilization has not learned to hold in check. That is to say: conditions may improve, but man, bound by the sin of Adam, will *not* improve. He will only proceed to more refined delights and more complicated disasters. Faced with this black prospect we naturally ask: in that case how can life be worth living? Franz Werfel employs a Grand Bishop to answer our question. "We are not only alienated from God through the lapse of time but are also brought nearer to God through the lapse of time." F. W. adds: "I understood that we are moving from warmth into cold and at the same time from cold into warmth; from light into darkness and at the same time from a darkness into light. This incomprehensible dual movement is the movement of the history of man and the history of mankind." Q. E. D.

I should not pretend that *Star of the Unborn* arouses any other feeling in me than nausea. I do not like thinkers who purport to comprehend things by declaring them incomprehensible. Perhaps that is a personal quirk of mine. Am I not condemning Werfel's book, it might be asked, because he is a Catholic and I am not? I doubt it. I am not nauseated by *all* modern Catholic literature, certainly not, for example, by Newman or Chesterton. No, there is something about Werfel which repels. Not all the narrative invention and humor of *Star of the Unborn*—in which both are conspicuous—can make him palatable.

Why? Is it not because his religiosity is the most spectacularly disgusting since Wagner's? It would certainly take another Nietzsche to describe his subterfuges and involutions. I shall not make the effort. Since he suffers also from simpler faults and cruder limitations, it will be enough to point to some of them.

Franz Werfel melodramatizes his enemies so grossly that it is he, not they, who comes to seem ludicrous. Wagner proved his inability to envisage a real enemy of humanity by making his Beckmesser silly and unconvincing. Werfel's Beckmesser is the liberal, the communist, the pragmatist, the materialist, the scientist and the skeptic. He is incapable of mentioning any of these coolly. His Father Exorcist (a "good" character, naturally) speaks of "the wild hosts of Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Ilich Lenin who invented the most despicable human hatred in the guise of ice-cold philanthropy." Waiving the other implications of this sentence, one would like to ask: Who exactly are the "wild hosts" of poor Saint-Simon? Well, the exorcist's tirade names yet more innocuous people such as John Dewey. Naturalism of all kinds is our Beckmesser, but nowhere does Werfel show any knowledge of what Naturalists believe. He simply assumes that they believe in respecting human beings no more than inanimate matter. Paradise to them, he concludes, is "nothing but harmonious metabolism." No wonder he blames all our modern troubles on them. No wonder he considers naturalistic philosophy a "yokel's solution" or mere "stupidity." No wonder he is wildly inaccurate. What can be done with a man who thinks that "Freud and his psychoanalysts revere the sexual appetite, libido, the reincarnation of the ancient Astaroth, as the ruler of the ruler, the Logos"?

Such a man is not equipped to write a philosophical novel, least of all one that is meant to assess the value of modern philosophies. Upon a foundation of unabashed ignorance Werfel builds an edifice of cocksure puerility. Consider the politics and economics of his book. Or rather consider the politics, since his economic policy is simply to abolish economics. The conservatives of the twentieth century are bad, we are told, because they believe in the classes; but the radicals are bad, too, because they believe in the masses. So much for conservatives and radicals. What about fascism? Hear the voice of the bard: "Fascists, my dear child, were party members who destroyed the old world order by defending it. But let's forget this moldy nonsense. After all, the anti-fascists destroyed the new world order by establishing it." Again, Q. E. D.

Those who like *Star of the Unborn* will assert that there are many other things in the book. There are; and some of them are good things: a number of the narrative episodes and a number of the personal reminiscences are worth a place in a better book; undoubtedly many readers will find the novel exciting as a fantastic story. Will the praise of such readers, however, be what Werfel wanted? In this very book he pours scorn on best-sellers and asks us to take him seriously as a religious thinker. We can't. If we want Catholicism we shall not go to Werfel for it. We shall go to someone who understands our own attitudes better, to someone who can present us with the real problem and who does not fob us off with factitious dilemmas. You cannot convert a man by asking him to choose between the Catholic Church and Metabolism.

Is Werfel trying to convince *himself*? A few weeks ago I suggested in these columns that the real Werfel remained unconvinced, and I almost congratulated him on his lack of conviction, or at least on the disarming frankness of the poems *in which alone*, Werfel confessed, *he was himself*. We now learn that Werfel considered *Star of the Unborn* by far his greatest achievement. Put two and two together,

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and it follows that Werfel considered himself most successful as an artist when he was not really himself. His attitude was: To thine own self be untrue. Werfel spurns the ancient faith from which he sprang and the modern faith to which he was exposed as a European intellectual. Yet if he cannot identify himself with these, with Beckmesser, he cannot quite identify himself with the other side either. He cannot quite sing the prize-song. For this role he calls on his Grand Bishop, and it is out of the Grand Bishop's mouth that he arranges our present and our future. With full Wagnerian emphasis, the Bishop orders our tomb. And amid thunderous applause the curtain falls on the last production of an eminent impresario.

ERIC BENTLEY

Poland and Russia in 1945

I Saw the New Poland, by Anna Louise Strong. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. 279 pages. $2.50.
I Saw the Russian People, by Ella Winter. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 309 pages. $3.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S *I Saw the New Poland* could have been entitled, too lengthily but more logically, "I Saw the Birth of the New Poland." Events have moved so swiftly in that country that a whole new set of problems has arisen since her visit in the wake of the liberating Red Army. The change extends to the daily life, thoughts and emotions of the people, and to the form of the contest for power which still goes on between the same contestants. However, the book has lasting value as a portrayal of Poland in the first stages of transition from prewar oppression and Nazi bloodshed to a new era of left-wing republicanism and social reform. In particular, it reveals the step-by-step, experimental process by which the new regime began to function. Here is evidence, though not offered as such, that the Government of National Liberation is more an improvisation of the Polish people themselves, at the local level, than an importation from Moscow via Lublin.

Miss Strong's long identity with propagandistic Moscow journalism has not prevented her from being a good reporter in Poland. Probably by preference, but also because she was right on the heels of the still fighting Russian army, her contacts were almost entirely with left-wing leaders and likeminded peasants and workers. Their factual narratives, however, stand the test of comparison with later accounts from more diverse sources. Even her quotation of testimony to the good conduct of Russian soldiers—"quiet folks, like Poles"—is not distortion. The Red Army behaved well when crossing Poland toward the west. Misconduct began after the fighting stopped, when the Russians were going home or idling in garrisons. She is silent about anti-Semitism, but the postwar variety had not developed at the time of her visit. Her characterizations of Polish leaders are accurate, the omission of Vice-Premier Gomolka testifying only to his recent swift rise to leadership in the coalition.

Drawing her account of the Warsaw insurrection entirely from left-wing sources, Miss Strong puts perhaps too much emphasis on the folly of that uprising and gives General Bor's Home Army too little credit for patriotic endeavor and for its long period of training and planning

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during the German occupation. General Bor's criminal folly, and that of the London Polish Government-in-Exile, was in wasting these partisan resources and dooming the civilian population by a fruitless, untimely political maneuver. The actual story of the insurrection as Miss Strong heard it from radical participants is what one hears from conservatives as well—a terrible tale of destruction, suffering and death—as a result of which the rebuilding of Warsaw has become a national obsession.

Ella Winter's *I Saw the Russian People* is exactly what its title indicates. It is a detailed portrayal of daily life in wartime Russia, but with so much emphasis on welfare and cultural activities that it almost seems to be describing two Russias. One is engaged in smashing the Hitlerites and suffering frightfully in the process. The other goes right ahead with old programs of social and economic improvement. This seems a bit too idyllic when one thinks of the terrific hardships—a mixture of both compulsion and patriotism—under which the Russian rear supported the Russian front during the war. However, on the bare record of what Miss Winter saw, one can only conclude that the Russians forgot less of their New Deal than we did of ours while putting down the common foe of both.

Here is something else for Americans to think about. Moscow psychiatrists—corroborated, the author says, by American physicians—told her that "anxiety neuroses" and similar threats of mental breakdown were almost unknown in the Red Army. "One physician said every Soviet soldier knew why he was fighting, every soldier knew what was being done for the disabled, every soldier knew he would have a job when the war was over." Miss Winter likes to present sovietism in a rosy light, but before stamping that as pure propaganda, it might be well to ask a few hundred American soldiers if they know why they fought and what they look forward to in the field of postwar employment.

When Miss Winter deals with public persons—Stalin, Churchill, Eden, Harriman, de Gaulle—she presents pictures of public gatherings instead of making interpretations. Her picture of the London Poles who went to Moscow to prove their friendship for Russia, and then burst out into anti-sovietism at cocktail parties, ought to make plain why Russia is skeptical about some European politicians—one need not confine it to Poles—who stand high in London and Washington.

IRVING BRANT

Eisenhower

General Ike, by Alden Hatch. (New, Enlarged Edition). New York: Henry Holt and Company. 258 pages. $2.75.

A JOURNALISTIC BIOGRAPHY of a contemporary hero is likely to be more like a picture on a magazine cover than a portrait by a skilled painter. Within these limitations, the present story of General Eisenhower's life is a reasonably satisfactory and candid job. Though many details obviously were invented to fulfill the author's desire to write a book that would read like popular fiction, there seems to be no important falsification of the record, as far as the facts are known.

Most of us are interested, not in knowing what kind of personality Eisenhower has, which is more obvious from his acts and appearances than in the case of most public men, but in finding the answers to a few specific questions. How did he happen to rise so far and so quickly to the supreme command? It is not usual for the right commander to be chosen at the very outset of a war. What accounts for his military success? What is the explanation of his dealings with Darlan and Giraud? What was his relationship to the apparent mistakes such as Anzio and the German Ardennes offensive? Such questions will long occupy historical scholars, but this book contains a few clues, which perhaps are not widely known.

When the United States entered the war, Eisenhower was a relatively obscure lieutenant colonel. He was not with the AEF in France during the First World War; he had never seen action until he landed in North Africa. His scholastic record in the Army was good, but not brilliant; he almost missed attending the General Staff School at Leavenworth. He had done well in training tank troops, had studied the Western Front battlefields and terrain and had served under General MacArthur in the Philippines. But his point of view was basically civilian rather than military in the strict sense of the word; he was not the kind to get automatic promotion by perfect fit in the military mold. Apparently he had few close friends in high places.

The author offers no explicit explanation of his rise. Seemingly, when called to serve with the General Staff in Washington at the outbreak of war, he so impressed his superiors that he inspired confidence and was given one important job after another. When he got to England, the British liked him. Everything he did seemed well done; everything turned out well in the end. His unusual combination of qualities pushed him ahead.

Whether anything more concrete than this prompted his promotion we are not told. But certain of his qualifications for high command in a war like this do appear in his earlier history. He was brought up in a pacifist family, hated war, and chose the Army as a career not because he was impressed by military glamor but because he wanted a good education and a chance to play football. He had balance, a keen sense of humor, independent judgment and a liking for people in all stations of life. He loved poker and from his boyhood played a winning game. He studied strategy, not as a duty, but because it fascinated him. For years he had feared the outbreak of a second world war and had thought long and deeply about its problems.

This was the kind of war to arouse the utmost capacity of a pacifically inclined, generous and somewhat unconventional soldier. It is probable that his latent abilities suddenly were thrown into high gear when he reached Washington.

His major military exploits were, more than was realized at the time, a series of poker stratagems. The invasion of North Africa was a gigantic bluff. Surprise was achieved under difficult circumstances, and the number of men involved was far less than the world—or the enemy—then knew. It was essential to conciliate the French military forces. Though the full story of Darlan and Giraud is not told, and Robert Murphy's part is scarcely mentioned, it is clear that Eisenhower had to improvise as he proceeded. He was always riding his luck, prepared for the breaks. He almost took Tunis before the Germans got there—but not

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quite. He outsmarted the Fox of the Desert in the subsequent campaign. Then, by landing on the most unfavorable terrain of Sicily, he caught the Germans unprepared; he took another chance at Anzio and almost lost.

Stratagem was successful again in the Normandy landings; the Allied command correctly guessed that the Germans, without knowledge of the artificial harbors, would hold their counter-stroke too long. Patton was chosen for the break-through, and Patton had just the temperament and training for the job. When he got going faster than anyone had believed possible, Eisenhower let him go beyond the limit of supply. Again and again he took a chance of quick and smashing success, but whenever the venture failed, he was ready with a reorganized plan. The thin holding of the Ardennes was, as explained at the time, a "calculated risk" to enable concentration of offensive power elsewhere. The bluff was called and disaster almost followed—but not quite. Eisenhower's team was always good in the pinches.

We all know that Eisenhower was a good administrator and had a gigantic organization behind him. It is clear that he was tactful and modest, and could inspire not only confidence and loyalty but also liking on the part of both subordinates and Allies. Perhaps we have undervalued his peculiarly American combination of shrewdness and daring —qualities not always associated with steadiness, good nature and all-around competence. GEORGE SOULE

A Reader's List

THE FOUR CORNERSTONES OF PEACE, by Vera Micheles Dean (Whittlesey, $2.50). The traveler who returns from the moon and wishes to catch up with the latest efforts of the Earthman to bring his house in order, will find Mrs. Dean's new book a most useful guide. A simply written summary and interpretation of the Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, Mexico City and Potsdam Conferences, it is above all a moving appeal to the American voter to support American participation in the United Nations Organization. More than a hundred pages of the slender volume are reserved for the texts of recent international resolutions, conventions, agreements and treaties.

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, by Egon F. Ranshofen-Wertheimer (Columbia, $4.50). Among the achievements of the old League of Nations the operations of its permanent staff are not the least remarkable, and they will certainly serve as a model for the new UNO secretariat. This detailed and exhaustive study of the League Secretariat tells the story of how an independent, supra-national civil service, loyal only to the world organization, was built up and how it performed its task as a clearing-house of international administration. Particularly interesting is the description of the influences that went into the shaping of the Secretariat's working procedure. As long as an Englishman was at its head, British public administration "from below" predominated, freeing top officials for policy deliberation. Perfect teamwork at all levels was a prerequisite. Then in 1933, when a Frenchman became Secretary-General, a modified French system was introduced. Operations were "from the top down," with work for the middle and lower levels distributed by the Secretary-General's office. Although this system meant some streamlining, it was at the expense of staff initiative and morale. If the new UNO Secretariat is to succeed and a loyal international civil service to be built up, this study will have much more than a purely historical interest.

New Republic News

HEREWITH we introduce a new department in the *New Republic*, designed to tell our readers what is coming in our pages, and other news of the office which they may like to hear.

The conservative American press has given a hostile reception to the domestic program of the British Labor government—so hostile, indeed, that our papers print almost nothing about this dramatic and challenging experiment. The *New Republic* announces with pleasure a special series of articles on the plans of the government, to appear in the near future. (See full-page advertisement elsewhere in this issue for details.)

Norman Grieser has joined the staff of the *New Republic* as managing editor. Mr. Grieser, now on terminal leave as a lieutenant (j.g.) in the United States Navy, saw service in New Guinea, Australia and the Admiralty Islands. He was graduated from DePauw University, in Indiana, and the London School of Economics.

New Republic readers in several states west of the Mississippi may like to know of a series of speeches to be made by Bruce Bliven of the *New Republic* in March and April. The cities include Houston, Texas, March 6; Dallas, March 7; Fort Worth, March 8; Los Angeles, March 11; Long Beach, March 12; Fresno, March 14; Sacramento, March 18; Chico, March 19; Vancouver, Oregon, March 25; Seattle, March 26; Salt Lake, March 27; Rexburg, Idaho, March 29; Provo, Utah, April 1 and Boulder, Colorado, April 3. For details, as the radio says, consult your local papers.

The fact that Henry Ford II did not know that most automobile parts have been exempt from price control for six months, was front-page news on February 21 for daily newspaper readers; but not for *New Republic* subscribers, who read it in our issue dated February 11. Read the *New Republic* and get the news first, is our motto.

CONTRIBUTORS

LESLIE H. FARBER, M.D., formerly of Washington, D. C., is at present chief of the psychiatric service at the United States Marine Hospital in Norfolk, Virginia.

ERIC BENTLEY's new book, *The Playwright as Thinker*, will be published this spring by Reynal and Hitchcock. He is an assistant professor of English at the University of Minnesota.

IRVING BRANT spent the autumn of 1945 in Poland as correspondent of the Chicago *Sun*. His articles in that newspaper, together with the one which appeared in the *New Republic* of January 7, and new material, will be published in a few days by the International Universities Press under the title, *The New Poland*.

THE DRAWING on the cover, and the illustrations for the article by Mr. Cunningham beginning on page 313, are the work of Robert Osborn, now on terminal leave as a Lieutenant Commander in the United States Navy. Mr. Osborn was the artist, known to every naval aviator, who did the many hundreds of "Dilbert" cartoons, published as posters and in pamphlets, designed to keep naval aviators from killing themselves through carelessness or stupidity.

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